

## Allegorical Representations of Tudor Princes

**Abstract:** *The problem of studying various types of allegorical discourses is topical. The current research devoted to allegories as a special device in the literary and pictorial art of sixteenth-century England is concerned with three different types of this figurative mode of representation, their cognitive content, and their pragmatic effect. The poets, playwrights, and artists developed iconic representations of the Tudor monarchs by means of three forms of allegories: comparisons, impersonations, and personifications whose public aim was the consolidation of the dynastic power and hermeneutic interpretation of abstract concepts which made up the core of Tudor cosmology. The study provides an integrated approach to the allegorical paradigm as the totality of all means (textual and visual) expressing the same conceptual theme. The analysis has a strictly historical character and is put in the context of contemporary events and prevailing philosophical views. The corpus of literary material is discussed in rhetorical and ideological terms,*

**Keywords:** *allegorical comparisons, impersonations, personifications, Moon culture.*

This ornament we speake of is giuen by figures and figurative speeches, which be the flowers as it were and coulors that a Poet setteth upon his language of arte, as the embroiderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold vpon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulors upon his table of portrait; so our Poet is in the discreet using of his figures, by all measure and just proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed (Puttenham 1869, p. 150).

### Introduction

Many scholars of medieval culture consider that the Middle Ages were the "Age of Allegory." In this article I want to make a case that the Tudor age was the "Age of Allegory," in which it became an intrinsic property of literature and art. Far from being diminished or altogether extinct, allegory acquired new functions and extended to new cultural areas such as drama, pageants, and pictorial art. "Ancient, medieval, and Renaissance writers distinguished between theological allegory and literary allegory, between allegory as a description of the cosmos and allegory as a rhetorical mode or product of human invention" (Kahn 2017, p. 33). Morton Bloomfield considers allegory "the most significant mode of expression" in the early-modern period and the greatest treasure of world literature (Bloomfield 1987). Allegory is a multifaceted device that performs several semiotic functions among which a *propagandist* and *hermeneutic* functions which provide for cult creation and the dissemination of easily understood ideas (be it politics, ideology, or religion) are, probably, the most important<sup>1</sup>. However, there are few works

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<sup>1</sup>Other functions are: 1) a heuristic function that helps to visualize some phenomenon (person, event or situation); 2) a catachrestic function filling gaps in the system of meanings, which is

1 analyzing various forms of literary allegories of the period in question, as a result,  
2 many aspects of allegories have so far been overlooked as many literary works  
3 (material for analysis) have been neglected or remained unread. The current article  
4 proposes to fill in this gap and answer the following questions: what is the artist's  
5 intention in employing allegories; how the use of allegories increases the  
6 effectiveness of literary works; what textual paradigms are formed; what are social  
7 and political practices in art and literature.

### 8 9 *Allegory as Analogy*

10  
11 Our understanding of allegory, proceeds from the assumption that allegory is  
12 grounded in analogical reasoning as a fundamental instrument of human thought.  
13 Analogy (from Greek *analogia*, "proportion") is a cognitive process of transferring  
14 information or meaning from a particular object to another. The underlying theory  
15 postulates that a nexus is established in representation between two objects. The  
16 properties typical of one are ascribed to the other, so they become common for  
17 both. Allegories make it possible to look at an object from multiple angles and  
18 allow multiple ways of interpreting it.

19 A comprehensive treatment of the mental process of analogy is given in the  
20 works of philosophers, psychologists, and writers. Analogy is viewed as a basic  
21 formal mechanism that transposes one category onto another and "apprehends  
22 metaphysical relations of identity and difference. It is by analogy that one  
23 conceives the likeness of the unlike" (Blanton 2015, p.750). Epistemologically,  
24 analogy is a means of cognition; phenomenologically, analogies provide the ways  
25 to compare objects and events and establish relationships between them.  
26 Baudelaire identified imagination as the governing faculty in the creation of  
27 analogies and metaphors and therefore in the creation of new forms (Babuts 1992,  
28 p. 26).

29 In the discussion of analogy, the philosophers are indebted to Aristotle, who  
30 draws an analogy between a mode of representation and what it represents.  
31 Properties of the representation provide grounds for inferring corresponding  
32 properties in the object represented. He also suggested "the doctrine of analogical  
33 predication," which illumines many deferent kinds of relationships: "To affirm or  
34 deny one thing of many, or many of one, is not one affirmation or negation unless  
35 the many things together make up some one thing. I do not call them one if there  
36 exists one name but there is not some one thing they make up" (Aristotle 1984, p.  
37 32). Analogical predication illustrates how new properties are added to the subject  
38 borrowed from an entirely separate identity. As a result, it creates a new, still-  
39 unknown identity.

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originally incomplete; 3) an exegetical function explaining complicated or abstract concepts; 4) a propagatory function transmitting knowledge down to new generations.

1 **The Moon Culture**  
2

3 The theoretical basis and aesthetic orientation of the 16th century poetical  
4 allegories was the Moon culture that permeated Renaissance England's worldview  
5 and became the cultural context of the contemporary writings and paintings.

6 Veneration of the Moon began early in human societies both in primitive  
7 hunting cultures and in sedentary agricultural communities dependent on the  
8 cyclical vegetative processes. Though a less common esoteric tradition, the Moon  
9 cult is present in many faiths and religions, both old and young. In the *Book of*  
10 *Ecclesiasticus*<sup>2</sup> written about two hundred years before Christ but considered  
11 canonical by the Catholic Church by virtue of being directed by the spirit of God,  
12 the Moon is treated as the armament of Heaven, a sign of contemplative life, and a  
13 sign of the world. The writer refers to the Moon as an "instrument of the armies  
14 above. Stars accompany and wait on the Moon as a reward for her giving light  
15 during the darkness in a long night" (Bayley 2000, p. 104). The Moon is

16  
17 An instrument of the hosts on high,  
18 Shining forth in the firmament of heaven,  
19 The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars,  
20 An ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord,  
21 At the word of the Holy One they will stand in due order,  
22 And they will not faint in their watches (Ecclesiasticus 1896, 43:6–9, p 150).  
23

24 Viewed in terms of the rhythmic life of the cosmos, the Moon is regarded as a  
25 deity that controls life cycles. Being a celestial body that disperses night darkness,  
26 the Moon is considered a Luminary that sheds the light of God's knowledge on  
27 people. This divine enlightenment invites to contemplation, the highest activity of  
28 the mind, to penetrate "the realm of eternal truth and beauty" (Battenhouse 1941,  
29 p. 588), which results in the purification of the soul.

30 In the Egyptian culture, the Moon deity was masculine and identified with  
31 Thoth<sup>3</sup>, the pathfinder and the awakener of sleeping minds. In ancient Indian  
32 beliefs, the path of the pious and virtuous led to the Moon, a kind of paradise filled  
33 with tranquility and bliss.(Bayley 2000, p. 107). The most impressive and  
34 exhaustive description of the Moon is given by Plutarch (46 –119 AD) in his  
35 treatise *The Face In The Moon* also called *De Facie*. Composed as a dialogue  
36 between real persons living in Plutarch's lifetime and great minds of the past, *De*  
37 *Facie* reflects contemporary views on the celestial body, its mystical allure and  
38 powers. One of the participants, Apollonides,<sup>4</sup> offers an extraordinary idea that  
39 "the face, as we call it, is made up of images of the great ocean mirrored in the  
40 Moon; and the full moon is of all mirrors the most beautiful and the purest in

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<sup>2</sup>Ecclesiasticus is a work written by the scribe Ben Sira of Jerusalem, originally written in Hebrew on the inspiration of his father Joshua (sometimes called Jesus), son of Sirach,. It consists of ethical teachings and contains advice and instruction as to the duties of man toward himself, the poor, society and the state, and most important toward God.

<sup>3</sup>The god of the moon, wisdom, knowledge, writing, hieroglyphs, science, magic, art and judgment.

<sup>4</sup>Astronomer and geometrician; the name Apollonides might have been coined by Plutarch for "one of the clan of Apollonius," i.e., a young professor of Geometry.

1 uniformity and lustre. The outer Ocean<sup>5</sup> is seen in the moon, not where it really  
2 is." (Plutarch 1911, p. 18).

3 The range of ideas about the Moon in Plutarch's treatise is extensive. An  
4 important part is his views on the nature and fate of the soul, and the Moon's role  
5 in the creation of man: "the earth contributes body to the birth of man, the moon  
6 soul, the sun reason, just as he contributes light to the moon" (ibid., p.44-45). The  
7 distinction between mind (reason) and soul is in their derivation from the Sun and  
8 the Moon respectively. In the eschatology of Plutarch, death takes two steps.  
9 When man dies, on the earth Demeter parts soul from body; on the Moon,  
10 Persephone parts mind from soul. Being freed from mind, souls embrace a life of  
11 quiet and philosophical contemplation. Every soul, when it has quitted the body,  
12 should wander in the region between earth and moon to pay penalties for their  
13 wrong doings. (ibid., p. 47). The question of the habitability of the moon is solved by  
14 Plutarch making it a dwelling place of purged souls; impure souls are rejected by  
15 the Moon by scaring them off with her ominous face. Both the separation of  
16 Intellect from the soul and the combination of Intellect with the soul happen on the  
17 moon. The function of the moon is to receive the soul into itself (by making it a  
18 part of itself) and to generate it anew out of itself.

19 The cult of the Moon flourished in Tudor England and had a bearing on many  
20 aspects of English life taking hold of the minds of the contemporary poetical elite  
21 and intellectuals. It was during this time that many of the influential thinkers, such  
22 as Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlowe, and George Chapman founded a  
23 group of scholars called the 'School of Night.' The doctrine of the School of Night  
24 was based on Platonic mysticism whose main postulate was the "pre-existence of a  
25 celestial chaos – a divine realm not yet illuminated by the light of the Sun"  
26 (Battenhouse 1941, p. 585).

27 Since the general intellectual life of the Tudor age was closely connected with  
28 poetry as a venue of spreading ideology and philosophy, we shall analyze the  
29 Moon culture and its main conventions as they were presented in the most  
30 illuminative poem by George Chapman (1559–1634) *The Shadow of Night*  
31 published in 1594. It was his first extant published poem which articulated in a  
32 poetic form the prime ideas of this esoteric and transcendental culture. Roy  
33 Battenhouse considers that Chapman formulated a "systematic philosophy of  
34 Night" based on "a Platonic natural religion which employs the moon as symbol of  
35 spiritual illumination" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 587) in opposition to the orthodox  
36 Christian religion.

37 The first postulate of this occult idealism is that the primordial darkness is not  
38 evil but is the first creation of God, the "chaos of our first descent," the time of  
39 honor and virtue. Darkness is regarded as a godsend for the purification of human  
40 soul: "Chaos had soul without a body then./ Now bodies live without the souls of  
41 men" (Chapman 1874, p. 4). It is to be noted that in Chapman's interpretation  
42 darkness brings spiritual illumination to people, which the Sun that the poet  
43 considers a "false beacon" does not. Night signifies a soul in its prime state, that is

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<sup>5</sup>In ancient cosmology, the outer Ocean is a level, flowing ocean stream surrounding the earth and separating the abode of the supreme god/gods and men from the abode of disembodied spirits and rulers of the dead (Fairfield 1882, p. 7-10).

1 in a state of peace and divine bliss "when unlightsome, vast, and indigest/ The  
 2 formless matter of this world did lie,/ Fill'd'st every place with divinity" (ibid., p.  
 3 4). The second postulate proclaims Night the "most sacred mother both of gods  
 4 and men" because "Night fosters the inward wisdom, the knowledge of divine  
 5 things/ Night purifies the mind, acts as a purge for pure spirits" (ibid., p. 6). He  
 6 addresses Night in a most respectful way: "thou dear Night, O goddess of most  
 7 worth; great mistress of heaven's gloomy rack" (ibid., p.6). Night pours forth  
 8 "sweet seas of golden humour," i.e. Moonlight that symbolizes divine life and  
 9 reason and starlight that symbolizes the spirits of virtuous men. The poet  
 10 distinguishes Mother Night from shadow-Night, the former representing "things  
 11 eternal, dignified above" (ibid., p. 6), which people should aspire, the latter the  
 12 mutable material world in which they live. The Moon is a bright heart of true  
 13 Night.

14 The third postulate hypothesizes that Day and daylight are "sources of  
 15 corruption of the soul and of mistaken knowledge. The light imagery bears  
 16 strikingly different connotations in Platonic mysticism and in the orthodox  
 17 religion. Chapman associates Day with "the whoredom of this painted light" and  
 18 calls on Night to beat the "haughty Day to the infernal deep" with her starry wings.  
 19 Day is a refuge for sin. People sink into an abyss of lust, greed, avarice and  
 20 become "no less than huge impolish'd heaps of filthiness," (ibid., p. 6) their hearts  
 21 are black. Frances Yates summarized Chapman's word picture as an antithesis  
 22 between Day and Night, "in which the busy occupations of the Day are contrasted  
 23 with the meditative Night of Melancholy, the former being empty and foolish, the  
 24 latter profound and holy" (Yates 1979, p. 162).

25

26 Her [Night's] trusty shadows succour men dismay'd,  
 27 Whom Day's deceitful malice hath be-  
 28 tray'd  
 29 Come consecrate with me, to sacred Night  
 30 Your whole endeavours, and detest the  
 31 light. (Chapman 1874, p.8).

32

33 Shadow-dark meaning ignorance and "blindness of mind" is opposed to  
 34 Divine dark – intuitive knowledge which apperceives God's truth. The  
 35 metaphysical significance of this distinction is that the Sun God and the Moon  
 36 Goddess are an alternative way of expressing the same opposition between the  
 37 Active and the Contemplative life, living in Time and living in Eternity  
 38 (Bradbrook 1936, p. 71). The poet calls for a return to the state of the primordial  
 39 darkness from the man's fallen state and degenerate mind through repentance or  
 40 death. He appeals to the Moon to send her "chaste daughters, ministers of right,  
 41 The dreadful and the just Eumenides (Furies)" and let them cure the world of our  
 42 disease, even if it takes "Drowning the world in blood, and stain the skies/ With  
 43 their spilt souls" (Chapman 1874, p. 7). He implores Hercules to fall from heaven  
 44 "and cleanse this beastly stable of the world./ Or bend thy brazen bow against the  
 45 sun and his envious beams." He wishes the Sun "leave the world to Night and  
 46 dreams" and retreat to "Somnus' thickets" (ibid., p.7). He calls on mankind to " fall  
 47 worm-like on the ground, round,/ Weep, weep your souls, into felicity/ Come to

1 this house of mourning, serve the Night" (ibid., p. 8). For such unorthodox views  
 2 and ideas the members of the school were denounced as atheists and their school  
 3 was labeled the 'School of atheism'.  
 4

#### 5 *The Moon as a Symbol of Divine Power*

6  
 7 It is common knowledge that the emperors of late antiquity were represented  
 8 either as the Sun or the Moon, the astral symbols of power that make the emperor  
 9 appear a *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* [partner of the stars, brother of  
 10 the Sun and the Moon] (L'Orange 1953, p. 36). From Roman emperors the sun-  
 11 moon symbol that emblemized the idea of cosmic kingship (the harmony and  
 12 motion which the Creator gave to this Universe) was inherited by the medieval  
 13 rulers of Europe (ibid., p.38) and continued well into the 16th century. The  
 14 crescent moon was associated with the symbol of the Creator because the Moon  
 15 was held to be a sign of Heavenly host (Bayley 2000, p. 104).  
 16

17 Religious art in its the devotional imagery absorbed the star- moon symbols.  
 18 From around 1500, Dürer created numerous representations of the Virgin Mary  
 19 depicting her standing on the crescent surrounded by radiant light around her  
 20 body, wearing a crown of stars or with a starry aureole above her head (Fig. 1, 2).  
 21 Juan Cirlot considers that there is a dual significance in the crescent: it is a  
 22 symbolic image of paradise (the Land of Heaven) and was used with this import  
 23 by the early Christians living in catacombs (Cirlot 1971, p. 44); secondly, it stands  
 24 for the passive, feminine principle, and for things aquatic as we shall see later.

25 **Figures 1,2.** *Albrecht Dürer. The Virgin on the Crescent with a Starry Crown*  
 26 *(1508). The Virgin on a Crescent. Frontispiece to The Life of the Virgin (1510)*



27  
 28 Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.  
 29  
 30

### 31 **The 16<sup>th</sup> Century understanding of the use of Allegory**

#### 32 *Allegory as a Rhetoric Device*

33  
 34  
 35 George Puttenham (1529–1590), an English writer and literary critic, whose  
 36 major work is *The Arte of English Poesie* written a year before his death, calls

1 'Allegoria' "a long and perpetual metaphor" which alters the "whole and entire  
 2 speech." He refers it to ornaments of speech which "allure as well the mynde as  
 3 the eare of the hearers with a certaine noueltie and strange maner of conueyance,  
 4 disguising it no little from the ordinary and accustomed" (Puttenham 1869, p.  
 5 149). Comparing a literal description of the queen "Elizabeth regent of the great  
 6 Brittain Ile/ Honour of all regents and of Queenes" with its allegorical  
 7 representation "The English Diana, the great Britton mayde [maid]" (ibid., p. 188),  
 8 Puttenham comes to a conclusion that the latter has a richer significative meaning  
 9 (which he calls 'duplicitie' of its sense) combining two personae – Elizabeth and  
 10 the Greek goddess. Because of such duplicity he calls it a "figure of false semblant  
 11 or dissimulation" but considers it "the captaine of all other figures" (ibid., p. 197),  
 12 which serves the "enlargement of language". He stresses its prevalence in the  
 13 speech of Elizabethan courtiers:

14  
 15       The use of this figure is so large, and his vertue of so great efficacie as is supposed no  
 16       man can pleasantly utter and perswade without it. ... not onely euery common  
 17       Courtier, but also the gravest Counsellour, yea and the most noble and wisest Prince  
 18       are many times enforced to use it (Puttenham 1869, p.196)

19  
 20       According to Puttenham, a public speech without figures of speech is like an  
 21 "alehouse tale" told at a tavern table. "The principall vertue of Allegoria is when  
 22 we do speak in sense transitive and wrested from the own signification,  
 23 nevertheless applied to another [object] not altogether contrary, but having much  
 24 conveniencie with it" (ibid., p.197).

25       Henry Peacham (1546-1634), another well known rhetorician of the 16<sup>th</sup>  
 26 century, in his book *The Garden of Eloquence* published in 1593 analyzed various  
 27 stylistic devices including 'Allegoria' defining it as a sustained metaphor continued  
 28 through whole sentences or even through a whole discourse. According to  
 29 Peacham, "Allegoria is a sentence which means one thing in words and another in  
 30 sense" (Peacham 1593, p. 26). Allegories attach lively images to things or people;  
 31 he compares them to cosmic constellations "in respect of beautie, brightnesse and  
 32 direction", but warns against their excessive use because "unlikenesse of the  
 33 comparisons do make the Allegorie absurd" (ibid., p. 27).

34       A similar understanding is expounded by John Harrington (1561 –1612), a  
 35 poet and translator, in his *Apology of Poetry*. He proceeds from Plutarch's  
 36 definition that the allegory is "when one thing is told, and by that another is  
 37 understood" (Harrington 1591, p. iij). Harrington distinguishes at least three layers  
 38 [rines] in the allegorical construct: the literal sense [meaning] set forth as an  
 39 history of notable exploits of some persons (cognitive content); the moral sense  
 40 approving virtuous actions and condemning the contrary; and finally, some  
 41 abstract sense of true understanding of "natural Philosophy, or politick  
 42 government, or of divinity" (ibid.). Allegories are polysemous and display a great  
 43 richness of meanings and hence interpretations involving many diverse and deep  
 44 concepts.

45  
 46

1 *Allegory in Tudor England*

2

3 The sixteenth century saw a new development in the formation of "collective  
4 representations" of the Tudor monarchs understood by Durkheim as "ways in  
5 which the thought of the collectivity is epitomized" (Durkheim 1915, p. 5). The  
6 Tudors created a permanent national consciousness through collective  
7 representations which are the result of social cooperation backed by some  
8 authority that is selective about ideas and tropes conveying them. Artists and poets  
9 began to draw on biblical and classical mythology looking for possible  
10 correspondences (factual or factitious) between a sovereign and respective  
11 heroes/heroines of the past, whose virtues or vices, in the perception of an artist, a  
12 Tudor prince might have embodied. As a result, verbal and visual arts of the period  
13 became highly allegorical. Allegories were not just fragments or "leftovers" of the  
14 preceding periods, but a new figurative system based on allegorical thinking  
15 because sixteenth century writers "knew what the ancients knew, because they  
16 tried to write as the ancients wrote, because they began to think, and soon to feel,  
17 as the ancients thought and felt." (Burckhardt 1878, p. 105). The allegorical  
18 tradition passed into early modern literature and pictorial art as "allegorical figures  
19 served as free and independent elements" (ibid., p. 132). Goethe also noticed it:  
20 "Shakespeare is rich in wonderful figures of speech, which arise from personified  
21 concepts, which are entirely in place in his work because in his day all art was  
22 dominated by allegory" (Walter 2003, p. 228).

23 Allegory as a literary technique in the description of the Tudor rulers in which  
24 two unrelated objects/personae are compared for their shared qualities became  
25 highly inferential. Such analogies establish associations between the two beings  
26 (Latin *ens*) to highlight a certain characteristic; there is obvious intent on the part  
27 of the author to add depth to a created image by ascribing specific qualities to the  
28 sovereign's identity with the aim either to exalt or disparage him/her.

29 The allegory's meaning is not immediately given, it is based on some  
30 cognitive content, the sum of accumulated knowledge, beliefs, or ideas gained  
31 through tradition and passed down in history through myths and legends –  
32 narratives, which encode previous experience and pool inherited patterns of  
33 thought for intellectual conception of an object, event, or person. Allegories orient  
34 the perceiver in a particular direction and are used to express concepts in the form  
35 of artistic, tangible, and visual images. There is historical evidence that the early  
36 Henrician court was obsessed by games, chivalric role-playing, and light allegory.  
37 As Scarisbrick puts it, Henry VIII "was a prodigy, a sun-king, a *stupor mundi* [the  
38 wonder of the world]. He lived in, and crowned, a world of lavish allegory,  
39 mythology and romance" (Scarisbrick 1968, 20). So he was very knowledgeable  
40 about Allegory and could appreciate its usefulness as an ideological vehicle.

41

42

43 **Type I: Allegories by comparison**

44

45 The Allegory becomes a figurative construction of social reality. Since the  
46 focal point of our research is the Tudor monarchs, the analysis of allegories is



1 necessarily concerned with power, ideologies, values and cult creation. Allegories  
 2 are built on several constructive models. The first is a model involving  
 3 comparison: a certain analogy is drawn between a monarch and a respective  
 4 mythological or biblical character accompanied with the transfer of cognitive  
 5 content associated with the latter to the former illuminating some shared property.  
 6 It imbues a literary text with a symbolic code.

7 John Skelton (1460 - 1529) was probably the first poet, who eulogized the  
 8 Tudors making ample and successful use of allegories as a figurative mode of  
 9 expression. In his celebration poem of Henry VIII's accession in 1509 *A Laud and*  
 10 *Praise Made for Our Sovereign Lord and King*, he uses a device of comparison of  
 11 young Henry to the heroes of the past. In order to understand the choice of  
 12 allegorical figures, the context in which the poem was composed has to be  
 13 examined.

14 The historical context of Henry's accession directly points to a change in  
 15 England's policy. Thus, it makes sense to situate allegorical verses within the  
 16 immediate historical circumstances and see how they affect the employment of  
 17 allegories and their cognitive content. The young, high-spirited king plunged  
 18 headlong in military campaigns and personally led the army in many battles. His  
 19 father, Henry VII, had preferred diplomacy to war. But from time to time he had  
 20 hinted to young Henry that a moment might come favorable for an English attack  
 21 on France. In 1513, Henry VIII saw this moment: on June 30, 1513, he invaded  
 22 France, and his troops defeated the French army and seized Terouenne and later  
 23 Tournai. Meanwhile, trouble was cropping up on the Scottish boarder, with France  
 24 bidding Scotland to strike on England. James, King of Scotland, invaded England  
 25 at the head of a great army. "On the afternoon of September 9<sup>th</sup> was fought the  
 26 bloody and decisive battle-of-Flodden. Of the two armies, the Scottish was  
 27 probably the larger; but the English captains had their troops better in hand" (Innes  
 28 1911, p. 67). King James was slain in the field. Other battles were no less  
 29 successful.

30 The sea-fight off Brest, the successes at Terouenne and Tournai, and, finally,  
 31 the great victory of Flodden, proved beyond dispute that Englishmen only needed  
 32 to be well led to show themselves as indomitable as ever they had been in the past  
 33 (Innes 1911, p. 67).

34 And the leader desirous of military glory was the young king. Thus, it  
 35 becomes clear why Skelton chooses Alexander the Great (Alexis), one of the  
 36 greatest military personalities of all time, and Adrastus, a Mythical king of Argos,  
 37 who figures in the *Iliad*, in Pindar's<sup>6</sup> poems, Aeschylus'<sup>7</sup> play *Seven Against*  
 38 *Thebes* and Euripides'<sup>8</sup> tragedy *The Suppliants*. Skelton uses extended comparison:

39  
 40 Noble Henry the Eight,  
 41 Thy loving sovereign lord,  
 42 In whom doth well accord

<sup>6</sup>Pindar (518 - 438 BC) was an Ancient Greek lyric poet from Thebes.

<sup>7</sup>Aeschylus (525/524 –456/455 BC) was considered the father of tragedy and the first dramatist to present plays as a trilogy.

<sup>8</sup>Euripides (480 – c. 406 BC), a tragedian of classical Athens.

1 Alexis young of age,  
2 Adrastus wise and sage (Skelton 1879, p. 340).

3  
4 The name of Alexander the Great whose military exploits are well known  
5 does not need any comments; the personality of Adrastus, the king of Argos (one  
6 of the oldest cities in the world) and leader of the Seven against Thebes (another  
7 large ancient city, often called 'Seven-Gated Thebes') requires some illumination.  
8 Adrastus trying to help his son-in-law to be restored to the Theban throne,  
9 gathered a sizable army and started an expedition to conquer Thebes; he appointed  
10 seven bravest warriors to serve as champions to assault each of the seven gates in  
11 the wall of Thebes. The initial attack drove the Thebans back into city, but an  
12 attack on the walls failed and the battle proceeded outside the city. At each of the  
13 gates, champions fought valiantly with besieged defenders but all perished in the  
14 fight except for Adrastus<sup>9</sup>, who was saved by the fabulously fast horse Arion, a  
15 gift from Heracles. Ten years later, the sons of the defeated champions headed by  
16 Adrastus marched again on Thebes; the war was won this time, but Adrastus paid  
17 a high price for the victory – the only one killed in battle was his son.

18 Allegorical comparisons present a deeper and more particular portrayal of the  
19 Prince. The poems written in Henry VIII's lifetime are flattering to the monarch,  
20 even more so are poetic pieces written in Elizabeth's reign, which contain only  
21 laudatory descriptions of her father. Ulpian Fulwell published in 1575 a tract, half  
22 prose, half verse, called *The Flower of Fame*, which he starts with the description  
23 of Henry's virtues and his regal prowess.

24  
25 Among the most fortunate kynges & Princes that euer raigned: let the Fortunes of king  
26 Henrie the eyght have a speciall place. There were in his tyme raigning more puissant  
27 Princes together, than euer were lyuing in any age before, and yet among them all, not  
28 one of them equall to the Kyng of Englande in prowes (Fulwell 2022, p. 2).

29  
30 When comparisons claimed authority the best way was to resort to biblical  
31 characters and iconic figures of the Greek and Roman antiquity, among whom we  
32 find "The myghtie *Ceasar* [who] would geve place" to Henry VIII, and Alexander,  
33 whom Henry matched "in valianties." The choice and combination of allegorical  
34 figures created individual characteristics for the Tudor prince ensuring multiple  
35 points of view. Thus, Henry is described as:

36  
37 A Solomon for godly wit,  
38 A Solon for his constant mind;  
39 A Samson when he list to hit  
40 The fury of his foes unkind (Fulwell 2011, p.1).

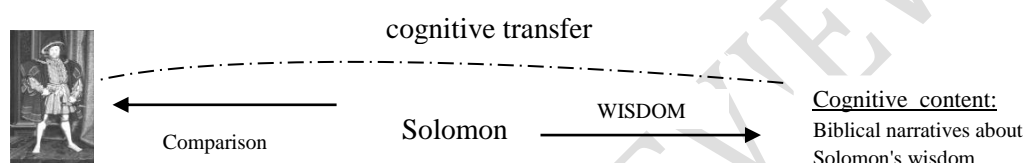
41  
42 The demonstrative proposition "Henry is Solomon" understood as "Henry is  
43 as wise as Solomon" creates a new identity for the monarch accumulating across a  
44 lengthy historical period in the process of propagation the salient features –  
45 'wisdom' and 'royal prowess'. Solomon was a fabulously wealthy and wise king of

---

<sup>9</sup>For a detailed description of the war and its consequences see Robin Hard (2004).

1 Old Testament, whose wisdom is described in the Bible. Other objects of  
 2 comparison were: Solon, an Athenian lawmaker, who was a person of unwavering  
 3 moral principles; and Samson, a man of superhuman strength. The device of  
 4 cognitive transfer invests all perfections of several well-known personalities in one  
 5 person. These comparisons blend together masculinity and political authority,  
 6 which was later successfully incarnated in the famous mural by Hans Holbein.  
 7 Henry's virtues were imparted to his daughter, Elizabeth, who her "fathers steppes  
 8 treades so ryght and beautifies his fame". Allegory as a mode of signification  
 9 based on comparison combines analogical thinking with cognitive transfer of any  
 10 sort of property attributed to historical/mythological characters (Fig. 3). Such  
 11 analogical allegories gather many comparisons into the image of one unifying  
 12 figure – the Prince – combining salient pieces of the ideological mythology.

13  
 14 **Figure 3.** Cognitive grounds for allegories based on comparison



15  
 16 Edward VI's life and reign were so short that he left a tiny trace in poetry and  
 17 ballads. Nevertheless, in the coronation speech pronounced by Thomas Cranmer,  
 18 an architect of the English Reformation, we find a very pertinent comparison of  
 19 the boy-king to Josias, the sixteenth king of Judah (640–609 BCE), who also  
 20 became king at the age of eight after the assassination of his father and, like  
 21 Edward, instituted major religious reforms. Cranmer calls Edward "a second  
 22 Josiah", and Josiah his "predecessor". *Tertium comparationis* is the age of the  
 23 kings and their devotion to the reformation of the Church.

24 "Your majesty is Christ's vicar within your own dominions, with your predecessor  
 25 Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome  
 26 banished from your subjects, and images removed.... Like unto him, there was no king  
 27 before him that turned to the Lord with all his heart, neither after him arose there any like  
 28 him. This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days"  
 29 (Cranmer 1846, p. 127).

30 In the case of Mary I, politics and religion were intermixed and this fusion  
 31 became cognitive ground for comparison. In ballads written by Catholic priests,  
 32 Mary's allegorical analogies are based on understanding her as a defender of the  
 33 True faith, so parallels are drawn with such heroines of the past as Judith or  
 34 Hester:

35  
 36 Marie, the mirrouer of mercifulnesse,  
 37 God of his goodnesse hath lent to this lande;  
 38 Our iewell, our ioye, our Judeth, doutlesse,  
 39 The great Holofernes of hell to withstande.  
 40 Full well I may liken and boldly compare  
 41 Her highnesse to Hester, that vertuous Quene ;  
 42 The enuious Hamon to kyll is her care.  
 43 And all wicked workers to wede them out clene. (Rollins 1920, p.14)

1 Judith was a beautiful vengeful widow, who beheaded Holofernes, an  
 2 Assyrian general intent on destroying her home town. She penetrated his tent, put  
 3 him to sleep, and decapitated him with a sword. Queen Hester (Esther) is another  
 4 Biblical person, the wife of the Persian King, whose vizier killed all the Jews.  
 5 Esther, being a Jew herself, accused him and had him hanged on the highest  
 6 gallows in the country.

7 Ballads composed by Protestants, on the contrary, draw comparison between  
 8 Mary and Jezebel, who was the wife of the King of Israel, worshiped false  
 9 prophets and expelled true prophets from Israel. In the end, the dynasty was  
 10 annihilated and Jezebel was defenestrated (thrown out the window). Throughout  
 11 history the name *Jezebel* had been associated with false prophets. The ballad *A*  
 12 *Warning to Queen Mary*, written on Oct. 10, 1553 by a Protestant priest is an  
 13 admonition to the queen against "that myserable maskyng masse which all good  
 14 men doth hatte [hate]" and false idolatry. At the beginning, he calls her "O  
 15 lovesome Rose most Redelente [redolent], of Vadynge flowres most ffresch," but  
 16 then compares her to "wycked Iessabell" and accuses her of listening to "four  
 17 hundred prophettes falce" (Furnivall 1872, I, p. 434).

18 A more detailed description of Jezebel's sin of pride and her tragic end is  
 19 presented in another ballad *A Godly and good example to avoid all*  
 20 *inconveniencies as hereafter followeth*:

21  
 22 Proud Iesabell [Jezebel], whose sinne so great did move the lorde to Ire,  
 23 Was headlonge from her tower so neat cast in the filthy myre ;  
 24 The raveninge dogges, in open streates, devored her wicked corse ;  
 25 Her fleshe and blood with horses' feett was trode without remorse (Rollins 1920, p.  
 26 247).

27  
 28 Elizabeth I also received her share of flattering comparisons. It is of interest to  
 29 note that comparisons were drawn irrespective of her gender both to heroes and  
 30 heroines of the past. However, as will be seen later, a more potent and efficacious  
 31 type of allegory originated in the works of the contemporary poets. Nevertheless,  
 32 allegorical comparisons contributed to the glorification of the Queen exposing the  
 33 most important political and ideological peculiarities of her time.

34 In the dedication of his book *The acts and monuments* to queen Elizabeth,  
 35 John Foxe calls her "our peaceable Salome!" (Foxe 1837, p. 502) alluding to a  
 36 person of the New Testament – one of the women, a myrrh bearer, who witnessed  
 37 the crucifixion and later discovered that Jesus' tomb was empty. Her name means  
 38 'peace'. Peace was the corner stone of Elizabeth's policy Another comparison is to  
 39 Constantine, an emperor who tried to terminate the religious controversies of his  
 40 Christian subjects: "great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church  
 41 without any open slaughter for a thousand years together" (ibid., p. 250).

42 Allegories based on comparison show us how the image of a Prince was  
 43 structured to be presented to the public in the definition of his/her sovereign  
 44 identity within a specific historical situation, ideology, or political project. The  
 45 diversity of comparisons creates imaginative plurality and enhances the  
 46 significance of a royal personality.

47

## 1 **Type II: Allegory as Impersonation**

2  
3 No matter how effective the literary device of comparison was, in the 16th  
4 century there appeared a different kind of allegory of a more sophisticated  
5 cognitive complexity – impersonation, which Quintilian defines in the *Institutio*  
6 as:

7 A bolder form of figure is impersonation, or *prosopopoeia*. This is a device which  
8 lends wonderful variety and animation to oratory. ... We are even allowed in this form of  
9 speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead (Quintilian 1979, p. 391).

10 The 16th century saw a fast proliferation of this type of allegory in literature  
11 and art. It reached an apogee in the reign of Elizabeth I, when multifaceted  
12 allegorical representations were amply used by poets to accommodate political,  
13 ideological, moral, and ethical objectives. True, at the beginning it was used with a  
14 certain degree of reservation. When Fulwell called Elizabeth Diana, he wrote,  
15 "Her godly nature well deserues/ A Goddess for to bee" (Fulwell 2011,p.7).  
16 Later, such poets as John Davies and Edmund Spenser took the queen's divine  
17 identities for granted and aggrandized Elizabeth with the help of polymorphous  
18 impersonations. It was an unprecedented invention when a sovereign was  
19 represented as an earthly reincarnation of ancient goddesses. Pagan gods became a  
20 suitable means for poetic representation of Tudor princes. With the revival of  
21 paganism, the proximity of the gods became the most important element of  
22 ideological indoctrination.

23 In the article we propose to discuss only two hypostases of Elizabeth, their  
24 moral and metaphysical significance – Diana and Cynthia. The first literary work  
25 written in this manner was Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1590). A whole  
26 gallery of famous virgins filled the pages of his book: Gloriana combining the  
27 virtues of virginity with the power over the seas and eternal divine light;  
28 Britomart, a warlike princess, a female knight (her name is composed of Britain  
29 and Mars), the ideal of Chastity; Una, the quintessence of purity and high priestess  
30 of the "true sacred lore" leading her people to God; and of course Cynthia/Diana  
31 (Moon), a true ruler epitomizing peace and harmony, the name prompted to  
32 Spenser by his friend Walter Raleigh. Christopher Marlowe, glorified Elizabeth as  
33 the goddess Ceremony "with a Crowne of all the stars," who descended from  
34 above to establish order and true religion. "Heaven with her descended" turning  
35 the isle into earthly heaven. Her "shadows" were Devotion, Order, State, and  
36 Reverence, "All which her sight made live, her absence die" (Marlowe 1963, p.  
37 88).

## 40 **Transcending the individuality of Elizabeth**

41  
42 The insightful description of allegory by Arthur Schopenhauer emphasizes  
43 allegory's capacity to indicate some idea or ideas current in society (or inculcated  
44 in collective conscience) which reflect the spirit of the age. We aim to research the  
45 poetical and artistic material from this perspective to detect the prevailing ideas  
46 related with the female monarch. We regard such material as an authoritative data  
47 source because artistic ideas are drawn directly from life.

1 An allegory is a work of art which means something different from what it  
 2 represents. But the object of perception, and consequently also the Idea, expresses  
 3 itself directly and completely, and does not require the medium of something else  
 4 which implies or indicates it. ... Therefore through the allegory a conception has  
 5 always to be signified, and consequently the mind of the beholder has to be drawn  
 6 away from the expressed perceptible idea to one which is entirely different, abstract  
 7 and not perceptible, and which lies quite outside the work of art (Schopenhauer 2017,  
 8 p. 553).

9  
 10 *Elizabeth as Diana*

11  
 12 Of the mythological figures employed by poets and dramatists in praise of  
 13 Elizabeth I, the most popular were those associated with the virgin goddess of the  
 14 Moon – Diana/ Cynthia, – who became the prevailing allegorical representations  
 15 of other European princes, too.

16 The worship of the goddess Diana (a wood goddess) originated in Italy, on  
 17 the wooded hills at Aricia about the 6th century B.C. and was Hellenized later  
 18 (Gordon 1932, p. 178). Two centuries earlier, probably in the 8th century B.C., in  
 19 the territory of modern Turkey near the ancient city of Ephesus there had appeared  
 20 a cult of Artemis, which was taken over by the Greeks and identified with Roman  
 21 Diana. The indiscriminability of the two goddesses is corroborated by biblical  
 22 texts. In *King James Version*, the goddess in question is called Diana: "Great [is]  
 23 Diana of the Ephesians of which the [image] fell down from Jupiter" (KJV 1769,  
 24 Acts 19:36, p 822). In *The New International Version*, the name of the goddess in  
 25 the same context is Artemis. "The city of Ephesus is the guardian of the temple of  
 26 the great Artemis and of her image, which fell from heaven" (NIV 1984, Acts  
 27 19:36, p 787).

28 Sumptuous temples were erected in honor of the goddesses whose main  
 29 function was to protect and apotheosize the cities they symbolized. The statue of  
 30 Artemis wears a zodiac necklace showing a part of the cosmos with the sign of the  
 31 Crab in the center and other constellations on either side most closely associated  
 32 with the Moon (LiDonnici 1992, p.407). It was common practice to consider a  
 33 city's goddess its legitimate wife providing "political and cosmic stability" (ibid. p.  
 34 409), an idea that would be later employed by Elizabeth I conventionalizing her  
 35 relationship with England.

36 Despite the scriptural condemnation by Paul of the cult of Diana as a  
 37 handmade idol whose silver shrines "should be despised, and her magnificence  
 38 should be destroyed" (KJV 1769, Acts 19:28, p. 822), the new Protestant religion  
 39 embraced the pagan goddess and the idolatrous cult with all the burning ardor, and  
 40 made it for half a century one of the central themes of panegyric verse. The  
 41 aggrandizement of the pagan goddess is intimately related with changing historical  
 42 and social conditions. The image of Diana as an omnipotent deity over nature  
 43 emerged early in the Tudor reign. In 1508, a beautiful song was printed the first  
 44 stanza of which was devoted to Diana extolling her overwhelming power over the  
 45 awakening nature. Later, Elizabeth I was allegorized as Diana, and the elevation of  
 46 the Queen to the status of a goddess on earth began.

47

1 O lusty May with Flora quene.  
 2 The balmy dropis frome Phoebus'  
 3 shene, [shine]  
 4 Preluciand [predawn] bemes  
 5 befoir the day.  
 6 By thé Diana growis grene,  
 7 Throwch [through] glaidnes of this lusty May (Laneham 1907, p. cliv)

8  
 9 **Figure 4.** *Queen Elizabeth I as Diana by Frans Floris or Martin de Vos*



10  
 11 Source: The collection of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

12  
 13 The impersonation of Elizabeth I as Diana was buttressed by pictorial art,  
 14 especially by the symbol-laden portrait of Elizabeth by Frans Floris<sup>10</sup> (1560).  
 15 Diana is depicted with her hunting armor and a half-moon on her head instead of  
 16 the crown – the virgin queen that can protect her country, feed her subjects by  
 17 providing both daily bread and spiritual knowledge (hand pointing to her breast<sup>11</sup>),  
 18 and crowned as deity (Fig.4). The image was probably prompted by the queen's  
 19 declaration in Parliament a year earlier of her status as the Virgin Queen wedded  
 20 to her Kingdom. In Elizabethan England the concept of the marriage of the ruler to  
 21 her realm was a commonplace. This is how William Camden, the author of the  
 22 *Annales*, the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I, describes  
 23 this epoch-making moment. The queen stated in Parliament:

24 I am already bound vnto an Husband which is the Kingdome of England, and that  
 25 may suffice you: and this makes me wonder, that you forget your selves the pledge of this  
 26 alliance which I have made with my Kingdome. (With these words she showed them the  
 27 Ring with which she was inaugurated to her Kingdom in expresse and solemn terms).  
 28 ... This may be sufficient both for my memory and honour of my Name, if when I have  
 29 expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe: Here lyes interr'd  
 30 Elizabeth, A Virgin pure vntil her Death (Camden 1625, pp. 28-29).

31 Implicit in this speech is the mysterious powerfulness of Elizabeth's  
 32 perception of herself as a 'body politic' prevailing over her female identity, which

<sup>10</sup>Roy Strong expresses doubts in the attribution of the portrait, "The so-called portrait of her as Diana at Hatfield is a version of a Netherlandish allegorical piece attributed to Frans Floris or Martin de Vos" (Strong 1963, p. 48). He considers that the portrait may be wrongly identified as Elizabeth.

<sup>11</sup>In this gesture we find echoes of the earliest sculptural representations of Artemis Ephesia as a many-breasted goddess, a "nourisher".

1 took on almost mystical dimensions. This was explicitly expressed in the letter of  
2 E. Spenser to Sir Walter Raleigh of 23 January, 1589:

3  
4 "For considering shee beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or  
5 Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull lady, this latter part in some  
6 places I doe expresse in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to your owne  
7 excellent concept of Cynthia, (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana)  
8 (Spenser 1758, p. xxxv).  
9

10 From this time on, the perpetuation of Elizabeth's cult based on multiple  
11 identifications with various goddesses from Greek/Roman polytheistic theology  
12 begins; among them the virgin goddess of the hunt is the earliest and "the most  
13 popular of all the figures employed by Elizabeth's adorers, and in the minds of  
14 certain poets takes on some kind of esoteric philosophical significance" (Yates  
15 1947, p.72). Diana was a goddess of chastity, untamed nature and the moon, but  
16 this is only part of the picture.

17 Elizabeth's multiple identities are used by Thomas Dekker in his play *Old*  
18 *Fortunatus* (written presumably in 1590) as a stylistic device to describe the  
19 queen's many perfections, which made her land "Elycium," and to create an  
20 idealized image of the queen as one body and soul.

21  
22 2nd Old Man: Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana, some Cynthia: some  
23 Belphoebe, some Astraea: all by several names to express several loves: yet all those  
24 names make but one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.

25 1st Old Man: I am one of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza.  
26 (Dekker 1904, p.3).  
27

28 Impersonation of queen Elizabeth as Diana linked Elizabethan symbolism  
29 with several important emblems, cultural and ideological categories. Elkin Wilson  
30 considers that idealization and adoration of Elizabeth "was aroused in large part by  
31 the most impressive attribute of the "most vertuous and beautifull lady" – her  
32 virginity" (Wilson 1966, p. 191). Virginity became a category of power intimately  
33 connected with the stability of the empire and the universe. "By the later 1570s,  
34 there had emerged a cult of royal virginity that made the queen the inviolable  
35 object of universal desire" (Montrose 2002, p. 917). The cult assumed a form of  
36 ideology enhanced and propagated by contemporary poetry. Frances Yates  
37 considers that "the virginity of the queen was used as a powerful political weapon  
38 all through her reign" (Yates 1947, p. 82). Philippa Berry asserts that virginity was  
39 regarded as "the symbol of the inviolable sanctity of the state" (Berry 1989, p. 41).  
40 Richard Barnfield confers on Elizabeth the astral sign of Virgo:

41  
42 Then, since an heauenly Name doth thee befall,  
43 Thou VIRGO art: (if any Signe at all.) (Barnfield 1990, p. 122).  
44

45 Besides virginity, the cult of Elizabeth-as-Diana was based on a complex of  
46 other mythological and ideological ingredients. Berry considers that being  
47 associated "not only with female chastity and spiritual purity but also with matter,  
48 in the shape of wild nature," Elizabeth's bodily integrity signifies a possibility of a



1 "harmonious relationship between spirit and matter. Her rulership of the moon  
2 suggested not only a quality of unearthly or heavenly purity, but also the ability to  
3 transmit this quality to the sublunary realm" " (Berry 1989, pp. 37, 39). This motif  
4 is present in John Davies' *Royal Dedication* to Elizabeth written probably earlier  
5 but not published until 1599:

6  
7       Faire Soule, since to the fairest body knit  
8       You giue such liuely life, such quickning power,  
9       Such sweet celestiall influences to it  
10       As keepes it still in youths immortall flower (Davies 1876, p 10).

11  
12       He compares the queen to the North star that "Doth like another Sunne in  
13 glory rise" and "spread her heavenly worth;/ Loadstone [magnet] to hearts, and  
14 loadstarre [guiding star] to all eyes" (ibid. p. 9). Davies displays rare subtlety in his  
15 understanding of the relations of power in English monarchy, not typical of other  
16 poets. He stresses the loneliness of the ruler whose only support, despite countless  
17 courtiers and advisors, is God's grace.

18  
19       That though great States by her support doe stand,  
20       Yet she herselfe supported is of none,  
21       But by the finger of the Almightyes hand (Davies 1876, p. 9).

22  
23       Diana's power over the yearly awakening of nature turned into a symbol of  
24 everlasting spring "the sacred spring whence right and honor streames," which the  
25 queen reintroduced in her realm and which was equated with the well-being and  
26 security of the realm. "In her shall last our State's faire Spring,/ Now and for euer  
27 flourishing,/ As long as Heauen is lasting" (Davies 1876, p. 131).

28  
29       As where the sunne is present all the yeere,  
30       And neuer doth retire his golden ray,  
31       Needs must the Spring bee euerlasting there,  
32       And euery season like the month of May (Davies 1876,p. 10).

33  
34       In pictorial art, the eternal spring is represented by wild flowers embroidered  
35 on the queen's bodice in the famous *Rainbow portrait* by Marcus Gheeraerts the  
36 Younger (1600-03). The use of wild flowers is only part of allegorical symbolism  
37 for a complex system of ideas. Another is a crescent Moon: portraits of the Queen  
38 make use of this symbol; the last time it appears at the very top of the Queen's  
39 headdress in the *Rainbow portrait*. Sir Walter Raleigh chose a crescent turned  
40 down for his impresa in the portrait of 1588 with two words below "Amor et  
41 Virtute" (Love and Virtue). He lyricized the image of the Queen as the moon  
42 goddess in the poem *The Shepherd's Praise of his Sacred Diana* (1593): Moon  
43 beams in the night resemble primordial light. Comparing Elizabeth to the Moon,  
44 Raleigh lays stress on her mastery of the floods. Through the use of oceanic  
45 imagery, he expresses his devotion to the queen, characterizing their relationship  
46 as that between the Moon (empress) and himself as the tides (her servant).

47

1 Praised be Diana's fair and harmless light;  
 2 Praised be the dews wherewith she moistes the ground;  
 3 Praised be her beams, the glory of the night;  
 4 Praised be her power, by which all powers abound.  
 5 Praised be that force, by which she moves the floods;  
 6 Let that Diana shine which all these gives. (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

7  
 8 The European conception of the sacredness of monarchical authority as  
 9 divinely ordained had close affinity with Diana, who, together with her brother  
 10 Apollo, was endowed with the capacity to assert the legitimacy of imperial rulers.  
 11 The representation of Diana as a bearer of the absolutist ideology goes back to the  
 12 Roman Empire of the 1st century B.C. under Augustus, the founder of the Roman  
 13 empire, where Diana was second only to Jupiter in her political importance. From  
 14 that time on, Diana had been treated as a protectress of the state. Berry advances  
 15 an idea that the conception of religious purity was also related to Diana (Berry  
 16 1989, p. 42). So identification of Elizabeth I with Diana Lucina as a light-bearer  
 17 implies dissemination of true religion by the queen as the head of the Church.  
 18 Elizabeth was endowed with absolute power in state and royal supremacy over the  
 19 church. The elevation of the Queen to the status of a goddess had been completed.  
 20 She rules both on earth and in heaven, inaugurates a second golden age.

21  
 22 In heaven Queene she is among the spheares;  
 23 Eternity in her oft change she bears.  
 24 Time wears her not ; she doth his chariot guide ;  
 25 Mortality below her orb is placed ;  
 26 By her the virtues of the stars down slide ;  
 27 In her is virtue's perfect image cast (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

28  
 29 One of the most interesting visual representations of Elizabeth as *primum*  
 30 *mobile* of England's political system is a remarkable woodcut placed by John  
 31 Case, one of Elizabethan leading intellectual figures, on the title page of his book  
 32 *Sphaera Civitatis* (1588); the woodcut depicts the Ptolemaic cosmological set of  
 33 spheres including five planets, the sun, and the moon with the figure of the Queen  
 34 embracing the universe. It is she who protects and makes it go round. The central  
 35 sphere is *Iustitia Immobile* (Justice immovable), which is the axle of the political  
 36 system of England. Five concentric rings of fixed movements of stars and planets  
 37 are placed around it, each devoted to one virtue: Plentitude, Fortitude, Religion,  
 38 Clemency, Majesty, etc. The outmost ring which is not a part of the planetary  
 39 system includes Elizabeth's description as *Regina* and *Fidei Defenseatrix* (Queen  
 40 and Faith Protectrix). The woodcut asserts the divinity of the queen by portraying  
 41 her in the role of Divine Power.

42 The posthumous image of queen Elizabeth by Nicholas Hilliard (Figure 5)  
 43 fits in well with her heavenly status. In the cult formation, the artist appropriated  
 44 many attributes from Marian iconography and created an image of celestial  
 45 significance. In the engraving, the Queen is depicted against the background of  
 46 radiance with the halo of stars around her head; in the right-hand upper corner an  
 47 Angel proffers a crown consisting of the stars, the sun, and the moon. Elizabeth is

1 presented as the second Virgin Mary: "whilest living, the first maid on earth, and  
2 when dead, the second in heaven" (Fuller 1642, p. 318). It becomes obvious that  
3 fifteen years after her death, Elizabeth's divinity was not questioned.

4

5 **Figure 5.** *Posthumous image of the Queen by Nicholas Hilliard<sup>12</sup> for Camden's*  
6 *Annales (1617 – 1619)*



7

8 Source: Roy Strong. *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, post 9, p. 155.

9

10 The allegorical intention of presenting Elizabeth as Diana (a figure fraught  
11 with implied meaning) is an attempt to expose hidden truths of Tudor cosmology.  
12 Artists deliberately erased distinctions between the divine and the pagan conflating  
13 them in one person – Elizabeth. "She is Chastity; she is Elizabeth; she is naked  
14 truth; she is beauty; she is imperial power; she is divinity; she is the object of  
15 sexual desire" (Freeman 2005, p.74).

16

17 O Goddess heauenly bright,  
18 Mirrour of grace and Majestie divine  
19 Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light  
20 Like Phoebus lampe throughout the world doth shine (Spenser 1758, p.4).

21

22 *Elizabeth as Cynthia*

23

24 Eventually, other mythological figures came into play. As "allegories are  
25 classically used for moral suasion they may, during times of political revolution,  
26 present totally new theories" (Fletcher 1964, p. 120). In the case of Elizabethan  
27 England it is a policy of imperialist expansion, the creation of an 'empire of the  
28 seas', which could come to fruition only through the unchallenged naval  
29 supremacy achieved by the Royal Navy. Diana's power over the sea waves, rivers  
30 and floods engendered the worship of Cynthia, another name of Diana, which  
31 means a "woman from Cynthus," (a mountain on Delos where Diana was born).  
32 The new separate hypostasis was associated to a great extent with the maritime  
33 side of the Tudor mythography. Spenser thus describes this 'personality split'  
34 attributing to Cynthia the prowess of a sovereign to rule:

<sup>12</sup>Nicholas Hilliard (1547 -- 1619), the first great native-born English painter of the Renaissance and a miniature painter to Queen Elizabeth since 1570. His portraits raised the art of miniature to its highest point of development.

1 Ne let his fairest Cynthia refuse,  
 2 In mirrors more than one her self to see;  
 3 But either *Gloriana* let her chuse,  
 4 Or in Belphoebe fashioned to be:  
 5 In th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastity (Spenser 1758, p.354).  
 6

7 The cult of Elizabeth-as-Cynthia, a protectress of the "sea-dogs" (adventurers,  
 8 explorers, privateers, and sailors), who had circumnavigated the globe and headed  
 9 "homeward by the Moone-shine light", was elaborated in the poetry of the 1590s  
 10 ministered to by two Elizabethan poets – Raleigh and Spenser,– who created a  
 11 compelling image of Cynthia-Elizabeth. Cynthia is a compositional center of  
 12 Raleigh's *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, a long elegy written during his temporal  
 13 rejection from court, "in which a gracious servant pictured/ His Cynthia, his  
 14 heavens fairest light" (Spenser 1758, p. 354). Raleigh's poem is very personal  
 15 expressing his devotion to Elizabeth and hidden despair at being unjustly vilified  
 16 and "debarred" from his "Ladie of the Sea." The poem was never published and was  
 17 considered to be entirely lost. We learn about it from Spenser who characterized  
 18 its content as lamentation and confessed that his own "senses were lulled in  
 19 slumber of delight" by this beautiful poem (ibid., p.354). When in 1870 a fragment  
 20 entitled *The twenty - first and last book of the Ocean*<sup>13</sup> to Cynthia was found it  
 21 became clear that the elegy really existed and bore evidence that Raleigh's poetical  
 22 talent was as great as his mastery of the oceans.

23 Opinions differ as to the date of the poem (suggested dates are from 1589 to  
 24 1595) and its *raison d'être*. Unlike Spenser's view of romantic love, some critics  
 25 consider this poem to be an expression of grief of "a man conscious of his  
 26 exceptional powers, which have been at the service of Cynthia-Elizabeth-England,  
 27 and which are now wasting for want of use; a proud man, who cannot contemplate  
 28 his fall, yet has to" (Johnson 1974, p. 30).  
 29

30 The blossoms fallen, the sap gone from the tree,  
 31 The broken monuments of my great desires, —  
 32 From these so lost what may the affections be ?  
 33 What heat in cinders of extinguished fires? (Raleigh , p. 32).  
 34

35 Others suggest that Raleigh only pretends to be hopelessly in love with the  
 36 Queen and that "he maintains the fiction of his passion for the elderly and  
 37 unattractive Queen. Elizabeth must have known that Raleigh's devotion was a  
 38 convention only, a pretence; and that she was determined to maintain the  
 39 convention for reasons politic" (Davie 1960, p. 72).  
 40

41 Sir Walter Raleigh provides a compelling example of a court figure who participated  
 42 in the collective process of Elizabethan cult-formation. He boldly and self-  
 43 consciously fashioned an idiosyncratic cult of royal veneration in order to gain and  
 44 maintain Elizabeth's attention and favor (Montrose 1999, p. 133).

---

<sup>13</sup>Elizabeth liked to give nicknames to her courtiers of the inner circle. She called Raleigh 'Water' twisting his name Walter. Spenser called his friend "the Shepherd of the Ocean", hence his name in the poem.

1        Whatever the case, the poem is beautifully composed, contains unique  
2        figurality, and reflects Raleigh's restless soul and injured pride.

3        It is believed that Edmund Spenser borrowed the name Cynthia for his *Faerie*  
4        *Queen* from Raleigh's "sweet verse, with Nectar sprinkled" as he was impressed,  
5        by his own admission, "with the wonder of her beames bright." However, he  
6        developed a different kind of allegory: while Raleigh elaborated a mythopoetic  
7        image of Elizabeth as the Moon whose "waxing and waning caused the rise and  
8        fall of 'Ocean,'" whose poignant love for Cynthia was "frustrated by unbridgeable  
9        distance" (Bednarz 1996, p. 286), Spenser created an allegory of monarchial  
10       authority as the "pivot of national life" (Ure 1974, 17).

11       In the last, probably unfinished book VII of the *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser  
12       describes Cynthia's origin and places her among Greek and Roman gods and  
13       goddesses:

14  
15        You fair *Cynthia*, whom so much ye make  
16        *Joves* dearest darling, she was bred and nurst  
17        On *Cynthus* hill, whence she her name did take:  
18        Then is the mortal born, howso ye crake;  
19        Besides, her face and count'nancc every day  
20        We changed see, and sundry forms partake,  
21        Now horned, now round, now bright, now brown and  
22        So that as changeful as the Moon men use to say (Spenser 1758, p.480).

23  
24       It is of interest to note that Spenser in his representation of Cynthia resorts to  
25       the ancient alchemic conceptualizations when all actions were attributed to the  
26       power of gods associated with stars or to natural forces that govern the universe.  
27       Marcellin Berthelot<sup>14</sup> in his book *Les origines de l'alchimie* asserts that knowledge  
28       took up "une form mystique." It is not by accident that Spenser described Cynthia's  
29       face "stain'd with magick." Alchemists established a rigid paradigm of  
30       interconnections between terrestrial and celestial phenomena; mutability of cosmic  
31       bodies and natural transformability.

32  
33        Quoiqu'il en soit, les vieux auteurs s'en réfèrent perpétuellement au parallélisme  
34        mystique entre les sept planètes et les sept métaux. Ainsi dans le symbolisme des  
35        vieux alchimistes, le même signe représente le métal et la planète correspondante. Le  
36        signe astronomique du soleil est pris pour l'or; le signe de la lune pour l'argent. Elles  
37        expliquent le côté mystique des alchimistes.

38        [In any case, the ancient authors perpetually refer to mysterious parallelisms between  
39        the seven planets and the seven metals. Thus, in the symbolism of old alchemists, the  
40        same sign represents a metal and the corresponding planet. The astronomical sign of  
41        the Sun is employed for gold; the sign of the Moon for silver. They explain the  
42        mysterious side of alchemists] (Berthelot 1885, p. 50).

43  
44       In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser repeatedly employs the epithet "silver" in the  
45       description of Cynthia. He calls her "silver Cynthia" who drops silver dew; in

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<sup>14</sup>Berthelot Marcellin (1827 - 1907), a French chemist, the first professor of organic chemistry. He also wrote on the history of early chemistry - alchemy.

1 darksome night, She breaks her silver beams and her bright head through a  
 2 "noyous cloud" [harmful cloud] to show the way to all those "that went astray".  
 3 This extended metaphor has two semantic levels: a literal one meaning actually  
 4 helping poor travelers who lost their way; and a metaphysical layer concerning  
 5 "the substance thin and light," showing sinners the right and virtuous way: the  
 6 "shining ray gave light unto the day". In the circle of the Moon, Cynthia "reigns in  
 7 everlasting glory." He pictures Cynthia's palace with silver gates which are  
 8 guarded by hoary Time "with hour-glass in hand". Cynthia is sitting on "an ivory  
 9 throne/ Drawn of two steeds, th'one black, the other white,/ Environd with ten  
 10 thousand stars around/ That duly her attended day and night", a motif initiated by  
 11 Ecclesiasticus. Her page is none other than *Vesper* "whom we the Evening-star  
 12 intend/ That with his torch, still twinkling like twylight/ Her lighten'd all the way  
 13 where she should wend" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455).

14 The *Faerie Queen* had such a great influence on other poets that they began  
 15 to imitate Spenser. In 1595, Richard Barnfield wrote a poem entitled *Cynthia*. He  
 16 admitted that the most important poetic influence on his *Cynthia* was Spenser.  
 17 Literary critics consider Barnfield the first poet to write in Spenserian stanzas as he  
 18 himself admits: "It is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet Maister  
 19 Spencer, in his *Fayrie Queene*" (Barnfield 1876, p. 64). His poem displays a close  
 20 inter textual and cognitive connectedness with Spenser in the description of the  
 21 goddess, he calls her a 'Fairy queen,' who combines the virtues of virginity with  
 22 the power over the seas and eternal divine light. Echoing Spenser, he places  
 23 Elizabeth's imperial throne amid the ocean:

24  
 25 In Westerne world amidst the Ocean maine,  
 26 In coumpleat Vertue shining like the Sunne,  
 27 In great Renowne a maiden Queene doth raigne...  
 28 In whose faire eies Loue linckt with vertues been,  
 29 In euerlasting Peace and Union (Barnfield 1876, p. 121).

30  
 31 Compare:

32  
 33 Great and most glorious virgin Queene alive ...  
 34 In widest Ocean she her throne does reare.  
 35 That over all the earth it may be seene  
 36 As morning Sunne her beames dispredden cleare  
 37 And in her face faire pence and mercy doth appeare (Spenser 1758, Book II, p. 114-  
 38 115).

39  
 40 For his panegyric on Cynthia-Elizabeth, Barnfield chose a time-tested dream  
 41 vision format in combination with the famous *Three Goddesses* theme popularized  
 42 in pictorial art by Hans Eworth (1569), whose famous canvass was placed in  
 43 Whitehall alongside European monarchs to emphasize Elizabeth's superiority over  
 44 all of them. As well as in painting, the *Three Goddesses* motif was exploited in  
 45 multiple pageants, entertainments, and plays. In them, Elizabeth is presented either  
 46 as an unbiased judge or, more often, as a beneficiary. Thus in Peele's *Arraignement*  
 47 of *Paris* the dispute among goddesses is resolved by Diana in Elizabeth's favor,

1 whom she calls "this peereles nympe whom heauen and earth beloues/ In whom  
2 do meete so manie giftes in one" (Peele 1910, p. E iij). In her argumentation,  
3 Diana enumerates the gifts of Zabeta (Elizabeth) echoing the inscription on  
4 Eworth's painting.

5  
6 In state Queene Juno's peere, for power in armes,  
7 And vertues of the minde Mineruaes mate:  
8 As fayre and louely as the queene of loue:  
9 As chast as Dian in her chast desires.  
10 The same is shee, if Phoebe doe no wronge,  
11 To whom this ball [golden apple or orb] in merit doth belonge. (Peele 1910, p.E iij).

12  
13 Barnfield also makes Elizabeth-Cynthia a beneficiary; placed in the  
14 Olympian framework, justice is thought to be attached more objectivity, the status  
15 of the judge is raised: it is Jupiter who issues a pronouncement. The poet in his  
16 sleep is directed by "an Angell bright" to a Dale where under a lofty Pine sat gods  
17 and goddesses: Jupiter with a wheel of fortune, Mercury, Volcano, three furies, all  
18 in armor, Priam's son Paris "wrapt in the Mantle of eternal Night," Pallas Athena,  
19 Venus "In glistring Golde," and Juno all in tears. Juno is a Plaintiff and appeals to  
20 Jupiter "to judge with equitie." She gives details of her case. Juno, Pallas, and  
21 Venus were going to hunt with Diana when a golden Ball trundled from above  
22 with an inscription *PVLCHERIMAE* [to the most beautiful]. The goddesses were  
23 arguing which of the them was the worthiest when they saw a young shepherd  
24 who happened to be Paris and asked him to resolve their contention. They tried to  
25 bribe him: Juno with wealth, Athena with wit, but he "bestowed that glorious  
26 Prize, On Venus." Juno considered it unjust and Paris was brought before Jupiter.  
27 After hearing Juno's complaint, Jupiter pronounces his decision to award the  
28 "fairest Fayrie Queene," the sacred Virgin, Muse of chastity – Elizabeth. The  
29 poem ends with the poet's awakening at dawn "Frō pleasant slumbring sleepe"; he  
30 almost wept "Depriu'd so soone of my sweet Dreame"(Barnfield 1876, p.122).

31 Barnfield's *Cynthia* is another step in the development of the royal panegyric  
32 genre. He attaches a Conclusion to his poem in which he places Elizabeth above  
33 the Moon and the Sun stating that it is she who gives light to the celestial bodies.

34  
35 Thus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastitie,  
36 This difference is betwixt the Moone and thee:  
37 Shee shines by Night; but thou by Day do'st shine:  
38 Shee Monthly changeth; thou dost nere decline:  
39 And as the Sunne, to her, doth lend his light,  
40 So hee, by thee, is onely made so bright:  
41 Yet neither Sun, nor Moone, thou canst be named,  
42 Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed. (Barnfield 1876, p. 76)

43  
44 The most enigmatic and difficult for interpretation poem in the Cynthia cycle  
45 is Chapman's *Hymnus in Cynthia*, in which, according to Yates, the poet  
46 "assimilates his imagery to the Elizabeth cult. Cynthia, the Moon, is 'our  
47 empress', that is Queen Elizabeth I, appearing in all the purity of her imperial  
48 reform" (Yates, p. 166). For Chapman, the moon goddess is the central figure in

1 his philosophy discussed above. He equates Elizabeth to *Anima Mundi* "Elizabeth  
2 is the Divine Soul of England, just as World-Soul is the Soul of the cosmos"  
3 (Battenhouse 1941, p. 599). The hymn starts with a rise of "Great Cynthia" from  
4 her palace, and her ride in the chariot in her "all-ill-purging purity."

5  
6 NATURE'S bright eyesight and  
7 The Night's fair soul  
8 That with; thy triple forehead<sup>15</sup>, dost control  
9 Earth, seas, and hell; and art in dignity  
10 The greatest and swiftest planet in the sky. (Chapman 1874, p. 10)

11  
12 Chapman emphasizes Cynthia's Englishness and her role as the Virgin of the  
13 Imperial Reform. He entreats her not to exchange her virginity for "the subject title  
14 of a wife." Elizabeth alone withstands European political and religious powers  
15 threatening England represented in the poem as an evil Sun. "Here, the reader can  
16 see, the Sun has become more than the symbol of hostile Europe and is now the  
17 symbol of sin" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 601). Elizabeth's special function is to  
18 promote virtue in the face of overwhelming peccancy of Europe.

19  
20 Then set thy crystal and imperial throne...  
21 Gainst Europe's Sun directly opposite,  
22 And give him darkness that doth threat thy light (Chapman 1874, p. 11).

23  
24 The poet depicts two opposing pictures of accursed Europe stricken with  
25 diseases and famine and the "Almighty state" of England "bless'd" with peace and  
26 plenty as it is ruled by "the great enchantress that commands/ Spirits of every  
27 region, seas, and lands," who is also "queen celestial" and "rulest/ Round heaven  
28 itself, and all his sevenfold heights,/ Are bound to serve the strength of her  
29 conceits" (ibid., p 11), whom Jove endowed with "complete Empery"<sup>16</sup>. "England  
30 that Elizabeth configured is compared to a "rare Elysian palace," so that this  
31 "blissful court" could shine "with all accomplishment of architect" and is named  
32 *Pax Imperii* (Peace of the Empire).

33  
34 In which two hundred twenty columns stood,  
35 Built by two hundred twenty kings of blood,  
36 Of curious beauty, and admired height,  
37 Pictures and statues, of as praiseful sleight,  
38 Convenient for so chaste a goddess' fane  
39 (Burnt by Herostratus), shall now again  
40 Be re-exstruct, and this Ephesia be  
41 Thy country's happy name (Chapman 1874, p. 15).

42  
43 The greater part of the *Hymnus in Cynthia* is devoted to the description of a  
44 shadowy hunt where Cynthia is the huntress. From "a white and dazzling meteor",

---

<sup>15</sup>In this description, Chapman follows Orpheus, who said Cynthia is thrice-headed, as she is Hecate (a triple-bodied goddess) Luna, and Diana.

<sup>16</sup>Unchallenged political power



1 she framed "a goodly nymph," Euthimya (joy is her sacred name),<sup>17</sup> bound to her  
 2 "golden wings with purple strings," which endowed the nymph with the capacity  
 3 to take the shape of any beast. Out of the shadows and mists, she made hunters and  
 4 hounds. Euthimya entices them into a vast dreadful thicket from whose "bosom  
 5 cast prodigious cries,/ Wrapt in her Stygian fumes of miseries"; and a hot chase  
 6 begins. At the beginning of the hunt Euthimya is turned to a panther (Pride), later  
 7 to a boar (Lust). The hunt ends with the coming of night: "Half-slain with fear"  
 8 mounted hunters retreat, hounds like "vapors wasted" and the goddess was  
 9 "mounted to her sphere" by Titanides and milk-white heifers.

10 This rather lengthy passage is interpreted differently by critics. Some see in it  
 11 the tantalizing pursuit of poetic rhymes and images (Spens 1925), which seems a  
 12 bit far-fetched; others, a majority, see in it an allegory of earthly desires and  
 13 passions which must be quenched (Bradbrook 1936). The most convincing  
 14 interpretation seems to be the one given by Roy Battenhouse: "The story of  
 15 Cynthia's activity as a huntress is an allegory of World-Soul acting in her role of  
 16 providential governor of men and punisher of the wicked" (Battenhouse 1941, p.  
 17 604). The author emphasizes the religious import of the mystic hunt – *memento*  
 18 *poenae*. The hunt resonates with the myth of Diana and Actaeon in Ovid's  
 19 *Metamorphoses*: the mortal hunter glimpses the bathing naked goddess, and she  
 20 punishes him by turning him into a stag who is destroyed by his own hounds.

21 The hymn ends with a call on Elizabethan subjects to worship Cynthia-  
 22 Elizabeth in the manner the Ephesians worshipped their Moon-goddess, Diana,  
 23 and turn England into a new Ephesus, a realm of peace and prosperity where  
 24 Cynthia rules with Devine Wisdom and Providence. Cynthia's is a cult of religious  
 25 submission which instills not only adoration but also dread. The last lines of the  
 26 poem are the poet's reminder to the reader of Cynthia's supernatural powers, who,  
 27 in order to punish sinners, can

28  
 29 Convert the violent courses of thy floods,  
 30 Remove whole fields of corn, and hugest woods,  
 31 Cast hills into the sea, and make the stars  
 32 Drop out of heaven, and lose thy mariners.  
 33 So shall the wonders of thy power be  
 34 seen,  
 35 And thou for ever live the planets'  
 36 queen (Chapman 1874, p. 16)  
 37

38 At the turn of the century, when it became clear that the queen's reign was  
 39 coming to its very end, there arose the question of change or mutability. In the *Ode*  
 40 *Of Cynthia* written by Lyly in 1600, the brevity of mortal existence and its  
 41 transiency make up the central theme. But in tune with the general tradition and  
 42 ideology, he states that time spares Elizabeth who is ageless and timeless.

43  
 44 All things vnder Cynthia tooke  
 45 To bee transitory...  
 46 Landes and Seas shee rules below,

---

<sup>17</sup>In philosophy, Euthymia means "gladness, good mood, serenity".

1       Where things change, and ebbe, and flowe,  
 2       Spring, waxe olde, and perish;  
 3       Only Time which all doth mowe,  
 4       Her alone doth cherish (Lyly 1902, p. 415).

5  
 6       In his symbolic description of the only constant being in the changing world –  
 7 Elizabeth – Lyly draws on the same principles and rigorous rules of presenting the  
 8 Tudor monarch as the famous *Rainbow portrait* produced in 1601 and attributed to  
 9 either Isaac Oliver or Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. As Lyly put it, "Times  
 10 yong howres attend her still,/ And her Eyes and Cheekes do fill,/ With fresh youth  
 11 and beautie" (Lyly 1902, p. 414). These lines resonate with the "Mask of Youth"  
 12 which presented the queen ageless, emblemizing a victory over nature's tendency  
 13 to age over time, and had an additional political meaning – an unquenchable  
 14 driving force of the country's successes. Constancy in all spheres of life was  
 15 related with Elizabeth.

16       However, a shift to new imagery and a new worldview is evident in Spenser's  
 17 last unfinished book of the *The Faerie Queene* devoted exclusively to Change.  
 18 Mutability, the daughter of Titans, acquired the powers of a goddess over men,  
 19 changing things on earth, and now "cast in her ambitious thought,/ T' attempt the  
 20 empire of the heavens height,/ And Jove himself to shoulder from his right"  
 21 (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455). Then to the circle of the Moon<sup>18</sup> she climbed,  
 22 where Cynthia reigned in everlasting glory. And when she saw Cynthia's throne  
 23 and "palace bright," upheld with thousand crystal pillars, her heart burnt with envy  
 24 and she demanded that Cynthia descend from her throne because she, Mutability,  
 25 could rule better as "herself of all that rule she deemed most condign" (ibid., 456).

26       Mutability confronts Jove, accuses him of usurpation of power and demands  
 27 they take the case to the court of Nature "for trial of their titles and best  
 28 rights"(ibid., 462). When the thunder-bearer "looked on her lovely face,/ In which  
 29 fair beams of beauty did appear/ That could the greatest wrath soon turn to grace"  
 30 he agreed to her demand to go to Arlo-hill, which had been cursed by Diana after  
 31 the unhappy incident with Faunus (a variation of the Actaeon myth). Nature after  
 32 hearing the litigants "gave her doom in speeches few": she said that all things  
 33 change, but stressed their enduring continuity which let them remain  
 34 fundamentally unchanged: they never change their "first estate" (essence). So  
 35 "Titaness was put down and whift [made silent]/ And Jove confm'd in his  
 36 imperial See" (ibid., 482). However, the poet-narrator is left disillusioned with the  
 37 verdict. In Canto 8, in the very last lines written by Spenser, the poet expresses his  
 38 inner perception of the historical moment: "though she [Mutability] all unworthy  
 39 were/ Of the Heavn's Rule:/yet In all things she beares the greatest sway" (ibid., p.  
 40 483). Spenser's poignant wit foresaw great changes England was in for in the days  
 41 to come after Elizabeth's death. For Spenser, changeability was an inherent  
 42 characteristic of the cosmos itself, but he looks forward to the time, "when no  
 43 more Change shall be/ all things firmly stayd/ Upon the pillours of Eternity" (ibid.,  
 44 p. 483), a matter of fundamental importance for England. Spenser's nostalgia for  
 45 constancy and the Aristotelian doctrine of the changeless and incorruptible

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<sup>18</sup>The sphere of the moon forms the border between terrestrial matter and celestial ether.

1 heavens come into conflict with the new reality in which, according to astronomic  
2 discoveries and the new heliocentric model, heavenly bodies are also subjected to  
3 change. Thus, paraphrasing Pushkin we can say, "there ain't no constancy on earth,  
4 man, there ain't none higher either."<sup>19</sup>

5 We have analyzed only two impersonations of the queen; there are many  
6 other no less picturesque and ideologically charged, all of which presented  
7 Elizabeth as the wellspring of the prosperity of the entire country and were the  
8 principal vehicle of social propaganda. We witness the appearance of a new  
9 allegorical personality in Spenser's last book which is directly connected to  
10 sixteenth-century discoveries in astronomy that suggested that the celestial region  
11 was not impervious to change either. Unfortunately, we will never know who or  
12 what will impersonify this allegory.

### 15 **Type III: Allegory as personification**

#### 17 *Henry VIII as Magnificence and Imperial Majesty*

19 The third type of allegory is personification, which blossomed in Tudor  
20 drama and had a special abstract and visual significance. Allegorical representations  
21 of vices and virtues are inherited by the sixteenth century drama from the medieval  
22 period where it took pride of place as a mode of a hermeneutical interpretation of  
23 religious and moral texts. However, presenting monarchs as personifications of  
24 some abstract qualities may be considered an early modern innovation. "Allegories  
25 on stage take on an essentially visual, iconographic character; their vividness and  
26 tangibility become an essentially defining attribute"(Enders 2015, p. 450).

27 The drama of Henry VIII's period is less known, so it is significant for  
28 understanding the allegorical mode of expressing current ideas through  
29 personifications. We found two plays in which the monarch is presented on an  
30 allegorical level: *Magnificence*, the only extant play of the English poet John  
31 Skelton<sup>20</sup> written about 1519, and John Bale's<sup>21</sup> drama *Kinge Johan* (1538; 1560),  
32 the first history drama with real historical characters. The former may be  
33 considered the first important political and didactic allegory, which tackles two  
34 important questions: kingly prowess, which depends to a great extent on  
35 councilors and the volatility of wealth if handled foolishly and rashly; the latter  
36 makes religious issues its focal theme and asserts that the true (Protestant) religion  
37 is central to good governance. At the heart of each of the two allegorical dramas is  
38 the conflict of authorities. Politics, economics, religion, and history are intimately

<sup>19</sup>The original sentence from *Mozart and Salieri* is "there ain't no truth on earth, man, there ain't none higher either."

<sup>20</sup>John Skelton (c. 1460—1529) was a scholar and poet. He became tutor to the future Henry VIII. During 1513 he wrote patriotic verses to celebrate Henry VIII's victories at Tournai and Therouanne. Skelton is regarded as one of the fathers of the English drama.

<sup>21</sup>John Bale was originally a Roman Catholic, became a Protestant, went abroad during the reign of Mary, returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth. He began writing Protestant plays in the 1530s. In 1536, he was charged with heresy, but was saved by Thomas Cromwell who believed in plays as effective propaganda.

1 interwoven in these play. As Greg Walker has argued, these plays "are themselves  
2 political acts as they respond to the contingencies of the time; the stance is in  
3 response to specific historical circumstances and conflicts, rather than a reflection  
4 of universal values" (Walker 1991, p. 2).

5 In terms of Tudor cosmology, the human ruler is a vicegerent for God  
6 Himself. It is asserted in Bale's drama by Imperial Majesty:

7  
8 The adminystracyon of a princes governaunce  
9 Is the gifte of God and hys hygh ordynaunce,  
10 Whome with all your power yow thre [clergy, nobility, civil order] ought to support  
11 (Bale 1838, p. 101).

12  
13 St. Thomas Aquinas devoted four articles in his *Summa theologica* to the  
14 analysis of Magnificence. In Aquinas' conception, magnificence is the peculiar  
15 virtue of the prince, an active virtue, for that matter. Magnificence denotes a  
16 perfect degree of any virtue.

17  
18 It belongs to magnificence to do (*facere*) something great, and not only to do  
19 something great but also to tend with the mind to the doing of great things;  
20 magnificence is the administering of great and lofty undertakings, with a certain  
21 broad and noble purpose of mind. ... Magnificence does a great work especially in  
22 reference to the Divine honor. For this reason magnificence is connected with  
23 holiness, since its chief effect is directed to religion or holiness. (Aquinas 1981, pp.  
24 1739-1740).

25  
26 The third article called *Whether the matter of Magnificence is Great*  
27 *Expenditure* is devoted especially to the question of liberality. St. Thomas  
28 emphasizes:

29  
30 The magnificent man is not lavish towards himself because to do so is not something  
31 great, but in order to do something which will reflect honor on the whole state: as  
32 when he brings to effect what the whole state is striving for" (ibid., p. 1741).

33  
34 The vices that surround the prince try to convince him to the contrary  
35 advising him to abandon Prudence and Measure in royal and money policies:  
36 measure is for merchants, "But largesse becometh a state ryall. /A lorde a negarde  
37 [niggard] it is a shame/ But largesse may amende your name" (Skelton 1879, p.  
38 20). The vices that the prince made his courtiers had the powerful position to  
39 influence and take advantage of the king in order to destroy him: "you were  
40 somtyme a noble estate, Nowe must you lerne to begge at euery mannes gate"  
41 (ibid., p. 94). Allegorically viewed, the message of the play is that an emblematic  
42 ruler is still to comprehend what real magnificence is. He learns it the hard way: he  
43 is robbed of all his wealth, beaten, humiliated by mockery, and nearly driven to  
44 suicide. He is restored by Good hope and Redress. The final soliloquies sum up  
45 the message of the play:

46  
47 This mater we haue mouyd you myrthys to make  
48 Precely purposyd vnder pretence of play

1 Shewyth wysdome to them that wysdome can take  
 2 Howe sodenly worldly welth dothe dekey  
 3 How wysdom thorowe wantonnesse vanysshlyth away (Skelton p. 123)  
 4

5 The play is a kind of *The Honest Mirror of Youth* for young rulers. It cannot  
 6 be divorced from the immediate political and economic situation. When Henry  
 7 succeeded to his father's throne, he inherited immense wealth which his father's  
 8 avarice had accumulated. "This, however, was in a few years dissipated by the  
 9 prodigal expenses of the youthful monarch to supply his riot and extravagance"  
 10 (Ruding 1840, p. 300) and expensive war campaigns of the Holy League<sup>22</sup> against  
 11 France which were paid for mainly with English money. Greg Walker considers  
 12 *Magnyfycence* "to be an intensely political play. It takes as its subject matter  
 13 questions which contemporaries considered central to effective royal  
 14 administration" (Walker 1991, p. 65). And that "subject matter" was a particular  
 15 political event of 1519 – the expulsion of Henry's closest companions (called  
 16 King's minions) from very high posts to which he had appointed them a year  
 17 before. For the general public, the removal was portrayed as the King's intolerance  
 18 to vice and inefficiency among his appointees.  
 19

20 The minions' extravagant behavior, their condescending, disparaging, manner, and  
 21 especially the over familiar way in which they treated their King, began to alarm the  
 22 members of Henry's council, who felt that such loutish activities and such  
 23 disrespectful behavior were bringing the Crown into odium. (Walker 1991, p. 68).  
 24

25 The other drama *King Johan* dramatizes symbolic power struggles between  
 26 English kings and papacy. The plot of the play unites historical factuality and  
 27 allegory, real historical characters and personified vices and virtues. Widow  
 28 England complains to King John that she is torn from her husband, God, by the  
 29 clergy, who profess a false religion. The king promises to help her, repudiates the  
 30 appointment of the archbishop of Canterbury, which exasperates the Pope, who  
 31 buys over nobility and commoners, bishops and lawyers, and the clergy. Betrayed  
 32 by all his subjects, after a two-year standoff, King John resigns his scepter and  
 33 crown to the Pope, who levies a heavy tribute that drains the king's treasury.  
 34 Moreover, the Pope sends a monk with a bottle of poison to the contumacious  
 35 king. The monk and the king drink of the same bottle and die. Eventually, Verity  
 36 (Truth) and Imperial Majesty, personifications of royal authority, namely Henry  
 37 VIII, appear, drive popery out of England and promise to lead England to "the land  
 38 of milk and honey".

39 The closing scene is, by all appearances, a manifesto for a new social order  
 40 based on Protestantism and the Act of Supremacy<sup>23</sup>, in which the struggle between  
 41 the state and the Church for absolute power is resolved in favor of the royal  
 42 authority. The act declared that the king was "the only supreme head on Earth of

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<sup>22</sup>In October 1511, Pope Julius II proclaimed the new Holy League against France, including the Papal States, Venice, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, England, and the Swiss Confederacy.

<sup>23</sup>The first Act of Supremacy was passed in November 1534 by Parliament. It granted King Henry VIII and subsequent monarchs Royal Supremacy: he was declared the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

1 the Church of England" answerable only to God. The doctrinal topics are  
2 proclaimed from the stage almost *verbatim* by Verity:

3  
4 Verity: In hys owne realme a kynge is judge over all,  
5 By Gods appoyntment, and none maye hym judge agayne,  
6 But the Lorde hymself : in thys the scripture is playne ...  
7 King is the supreme head of the church,  
8 Bishopp, monke, chanon, priest, cardynall, pope:  
9 All they by Gods lawe to kynges owe their allegeaunce.  
10 Than shall never Pope rule more in thys monarchie" (Bale1838, pp. 90 - 91.)  
11

12 Verity calls on all English subjects to "gyve to your kynge hys due  
13 supremacyte,/ And exyle the pope thys realme for evermore"(ibid., p. 90).

14 The both plays reflect different stages in Henry VIII's rulership, whose  
15 personality is perceptible in the dramatic characters, and were written with the aim  
16 of strengthening Tudor political authority. The plays are ideological vehicles for  
17 indoctrinating society with "correct" ideas. Allegories became a predominant  
18 attribute of the sixteenth century drama.  
19

## 20 21 **Conclusion**

22  
23 The allegory is only one of a broad repertory of figurative forms aimed to  
24 create society's favorable vision of the sovereign in power. They are far from being  
25 fossilized systems, but are an ever changing figurative mode of representation  
26 developing from simpler forms to more complex and rich in connotations  
27 instruments of indoctrination. The allegorical representation of the Tudors (both  
28 visual and textual) focuses on one thing – the ideal ruler, a ruler that is a divine  
29 being.

30 The allegorical devices studied in the article provided a medium through  
31 which images of Tudor princes were shaped and transmitted making poetic  
32 discourses a part of political culture. Poets fictionalized political, religious, and  
33 ideological conceptions informing them with Biblical and mythological content  
34 corroborated by visual representations in pictorial art. Allegories were effective in  
35 translating ideas and policies into poetic and visual imagery. Starting with  
36 allegorical comparisons in writing and later introducing other forms of allegories,  
37 "poets, writers and chroniclers structured the Tudors' images with the aim of  
38 enhancing the charisma of the sovereign; legitimating the authority of the regime;  
39 seeking to solicit royal sympathies in matters religious, civic, and military"  
40 (Montrose 1999, p. 109).

41 Allegorical representations of Tudor monarchs and values changing  
42 throughout the century are intrinsically connected with and adaptable to specific  
43 political situations (war – peace) and ideologies (Protestantism, imperialism). The  
44 allegorical paradigm of the 16th century displays great flexibility, the divine  
45 plenitude of representations.  
46

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